1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers. 204

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei. 494 484 489 178

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life. 493 177 178

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units. 177

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle. [489] [20] 443 [435] [517] [498] [203]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi. [178] [494]

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

685 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the
585 Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several vil-
581 lagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is
612 agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
17 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
[779] luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
[494] separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[439] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and man who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

133 and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
134 teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The
soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached,
acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and
fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain,
scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable.
135 The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly
coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh,
1964:109).

131 The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of
Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital
and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and
494a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one
first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over
10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1).
632 The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located
369 in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the
major market and political center for the nearby villages.
369 Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the
area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius
of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei,
its influence extends less than half the distance between
[484] town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca,
located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented.
491 Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway
496 in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a
494 small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the
133 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet
491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In
491 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus
133 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

621 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
[464] economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance
reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei,
the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the
Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they
are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents
had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part
of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate
in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do
not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily
to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic
reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei
towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level
of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese
and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[499] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
[653] route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each
day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, pos-
sessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks. 655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei [464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation 829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of [191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the [186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of 648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More- 829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for 511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 562 There are more opportunities for females than males to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
801 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

• [494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,